

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS
1864

DRAWER 6

MESSAGES TO CONGRESS
1861-1865

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Late Addresses of Abraham Lincoln, 1861-1865

Messages to Congress 1864

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

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MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate
and House of Representatives:

Again the blessings of health and abundant harvests claim our profoundest gratitude to Almighty God.

The condition of our foreign affairs is reasonably satisfactory.

Mexico continues to be a theater of civil war. While our political relations with that country have undergone no change, we have at the same time strictly maintained neutrality between the belligerents.

At the request of the States of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, a competent engineer has been authorized to make a survey of the river San Juan and the port of San Juan. It is a source of much satisfaction that the difficulties, which for a moment excited some political apprehension and caused a closing of the inter-oceanic transit route have been amicably adjusted, and that there is a good prospect that the route will soon be reopened with an increase of capacity and adaptation.

We could not exaggerate either the commercial or the political importance of that great improvement. It would be doing injustice to an important South American State not to acknowledge the directness, frankness, and cordiality with which the United States of Colombia have entered into intimate relation with this Government. A Claim Convention has been constituted to complete the unfinished work of the one which closed its session in 1861.

The new liberal Constitution of Venezuela having gone into effect with the universal acquiescence of the people, the government under it has been recognized, and diplomatic intercourse with it has been opened in a cordial and friendly spirit.

The long-deferred Avis Island claim has been satisfactorily paid and discharged. Mutual payments have been made of the claims awarded by the late Joint Commission for the settlement of claims between the United States and Peru. An earnest and cordial friendship continues to exist between the two countries; and such efforts as were in my power have been used to remove misunderstanding, and avert a threatened war between Peru and Spain.

Our relations are of the most friendly nature with Chile, the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Paraguay, San Salvador and Hayti. During the past year no differences of any kind have arisen with any of these Republics. And, on the other hand, their sympathies with the United States are constantly expressed with cordiality and earnestness.

The claims arising from the seizure of the cargo of the brig Maccalion, in 1821, have been paid in full by the Government of Chile.

Civil war continues in the Spanish port of San Domingo, apparently without prospect of an early close.

Official correspondence has been freely opened with Liberia, and it gives us a pleasing view of social and political progress in that Republic. It may be expected to derive new vigor from American influence, improved by the rapid disappearance of Slavery in the United States.

I solicit your authority to furnish to the Republic a gunboat, at a moderate cost, to be reimbursed to the United States by installments. Such a vessel is needed for the safety of that State against the native African races, and in Liberian hands it would be more effective in arresting the African slave-trade than a squadron in our own hands.

The possession of the last organized naval force would stimulate a generous ambition in the Republic, and the confidence which we should manifest by furnishing it would win forboarance and favor toward the colony from all civilized nations. The proposed overland telegraph between America and Europe by the way of Behring Straits and Asiatic Russia, which was sanctioned by Congress at the last session, has been undertaken under very favorable circumstances by an association of American citizens, with the cordial good will and support as well of this Government as of those of Great Britain and Russia.

Assurances have been received from most of the South American States, of their high appreciation of the enterprise and their readiness to co-operate in constructing lines tributary to that world encircling communication.

I learn with much satisfaction that the noble design of a telegraphic communication between the eastern coast of South America and Europe has been renewed with the expectation of its early accomplishment.

Thus it is hoped that with the return of domestic peace the country will be able to resume with energy and advantage her former high career of commerce and civilization. Our very popular and estimable representative in Egypt died in April last.

An unusual difficulty about the office and the Government of the Pacific resulted in a suspension of telegraphic communication. The evil was promptly corrected on the arrival of the successor in the Consulship, and our relations with Egypt as well as on relations with the Barbary Powers, are entirely satisfactory.

The Rebellion which has so long been rampant in China, has at last been suppressed with the co-operating good offices of its Government and of the other Western imperial States. The judicial consular establishment has become very difficult and onerous, and it will need legislative requisition to adopt to the extension our commerce, and to the more intimate intercourse which has been instituted with the Government and people of that vast empire.

China seems to be accepting with hearty good will the conventional laws which regulate commerce and social intercourse among the Western nations.

Owing to the peculiar situation of Japan, and the anomalous form of its Government, the action of that Empire in performing treaty stipulations is inconsistent and capricious. Nevertheless, good progress has been effected by the Western Powers moving with enlightened concert. Our own pecuniary claims have been allowed, or put in course of settlement, and the East Sea has been reopened to commerce.

There is reason also to believe that these proceedings have increased rather than diminished the friendship of Japan toward the United States.

The ports of Norfolk, Fernandina and Pensacola have been opened by proclamation.

It is hoped that foreign merchants will now consider whether it is not safer and more profitable to themselves as well as to the United States to resort to these and other open ports, than it is to pursue, through many hazards and at vast cost, a contraband trade with other ports which are closed, if not by actual military operation, at least by a lawful and effective blockade.

For myself I have no doubt of the power and duty of the Executive, under the law of nations, to exclude enemies of the human race from an asylum in the United States. If Congress should think that proceedings in such cases lack the authority of law, or ought to be further regulated by it, I recommend that provision be made for effectually preventing foreign slave-traders from acquiring domiciled facilities for their criminal occupation in our country.

It is possible that if this were a new and open question, the maritime powers with the light they now enjoy, would not concede the privileges of a naval belligerency to the insurgents of the United States, desirous as they are and always have been, equally of ships and of ports and harbors.

Disloyal emissaries have been neither less assiduous nor more successful during the last year than they were before that turn in their efforts under favor of that privilege to embroil our country in foreign wars. The desire and determination of the maritime states to defeat that design are believed to be as sincere as, and cannot be more earnest than our own.

Nevertheless, unforeseen political difficulties have arisen, especially in Brazilian and British ports, and on the northern boundary of the United States, which have required and are likely to continue to require the practice of constant vigilance, and a just and conciliatory spirit on the part of the United States, as well of the nations concerned and their Governments. Commissioners have been appointed under the treaty with Great Britain, on the adjustment of the claims of the Hudson Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Companies in Oregon, and are now proceeding to the execution of the trust assigned to them.

In view of the insecurity of life in the region adjacent to the Canadian border by recent assaults and depredations committed by inimical and desperate persons who are harbored there, it has been thought proper to give notice that after the expira-

tion of six months, the period conditionally stipulated in the existing arrangements with Great Britain, the United States must hold themselves at liberty to increase their naval armament upon the lakes, if they shall find that proceeding necessary.

The condition of the Border will necessarily come into consideration in connection with the continuing or modifying the rights of transit from Canada through the United States, as well as the regulation of imposts, which were temporarily established by the Reciprocity Treaty of the 5th June, 1864. I desire, however, to be understood while making this statement that the Colonial authorities are not deemed to be intentionally unjust or unfriendly toward the United States; but, on the contrary, there is every reason to expect, that with the approval of the Imperial Government, they will take the necessary measures to prevent new incursions across the border.

The act passed at the last session for the encouragement of emigration, has, as far as was possible, been put into operation.

It seems to need an amendment which will enable the officers of the Government to prevent the practice of frauds against the immigrants while on their way and on their arrival in the ports, so as to secure them here a free choice of avocations and places of settlement.

A liberal disposition toward this great national policy is manifested by most of the European States, and ought to be reciprocated on our part by giving the immigrants effective national protection. I regard our emigrants as one of the principal replenishing streams which are appointed by Providence to repair the ravages of internal war, and its wastes of national strength and health.

All that is necessary is to secure the flow of that stream in its present fullness, and to that end the Government must, in every way, make it manifest that it neither needs nor designs to impose involuntary military service upon those who come from

other lands to cast their lot in our country. The financial affairs of the Government have been successfully administered.

During the last year the legislation of the last session of Congress has beneficially effected the revenue. Although sufficient time has not yet elapsed to experience the full effect of several of the provisions of the act of Congress imposing increased taxation, the receipts during the year, from all sources, upon the basis of warrants signed by the Secretary of the Treasury, including loans and the balance in the Treasury on the first day of July, 1863, were \$1,394,796,007 62, and the aggregate disbursements, upon the same basis, were \$1,298,056,101 59, leaving a balance in the Treasury, as shown by warrants, of \$96,739,905 73. Deduct from these amounts the amount of the principal of the public debt redeemed, and the amount of issues in substitution therefor, and the actual cash operations of the Treasury were: Receipts, \$4,075,646 77; disbursements, \$865,234,087 76; which leaves a cash balance in the Treasury of \$18,842,558 71. Of the receipts there were derived from customs, \$102,316,152 99; from lands, \$588,333 29; from direct taxes, \$475,648 96; from internal revenue, \$109,741,134 10; from miscellaneous sources, \$47,511,448; and from loans applied to actual expenditures, including former balance, \$623,443,929 13. There were disbursed for the civil service, \$27,505,599 46; for pensions and Indians, \$7,517,930 97; for the War Department, \$60,791,842 97; for the Navy Department, \$85,733,292 79; for interest of the public debt, \$53,685,421 69, making an aggregate on \$865,234,081 86, and leaving a balance in the Treasury of \$18,842,558 71 as before stated.

For the actual receipts and disbursements for the first quarter and the estimated receipts and disbursements for the three remaining quarters of the current fiscal year, and the general operations of the Treasury in detail, I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

I concur with him in the opinion that the proportion of the moneys required to meet the expenses consequent upon the war, derived from taxation, should be still further increased; and I earnestly invite your attention to this subject, to the end that there may be such additional legislation as shall be required to meet the just expectations of the Secretary.

The public debt on the first day of July last, as appears by the books of the Treasury, amounted to \$1,740,690,489 49. Probably, should the war continue for another year, that amount may be increased by not far from five hundred millions. Held as it is for the most part by our own people, it has become a substantial branch of national though private property.

For obvious reasons the more nearly this property can be distributed among all the people the better. To favor such general distribution greater inducements to become owners might perhaps with good effect and without injury be presented to persons of limited means. With this view I suggest whether it might not be both expedient and competent for Congress to provide that a limited amount of some future issue of public securities might be held by any bona fide purchaser exempt from taxation and, from seizure for debt, under such restrictions and limitation as might be necessary to guard against abuse of so important a privilege. This would enable prudent persons to set aside a small annuity against a possible day of want.

Privileges like these would render the possession of such securities to the amount limited most desirable to every person of small means, who might be able to save enough for the purpose. The great advantage of citizens being creditors as well as debtors, with relation to the public debt, is obvious. Men readily perceive that they cannot be much oppressed by a debt which they owe to themselves.

The public debt on the 1st day of July last, although somewhat exceeding the estimate of the Secretary of the Treasury made to Congress at the commencement of last session, falls short of the estimate of that officer made in the succeeding December as to its probable amount at the beginning of his year, by the sum of \$3,095,079 33. This fact exhibits a satisfactory condition and conduct of the operations of the Treasury.

The National banking system is proving to be acceptable to capitalists and to the people.

On the 25th day of November 584 National Banks had been organized, a considerable number of which were conversions from State banks. Changes from the State system to the National system are rapidly taking place, and it is hoped that very soon there will be in the United States no banks of issue not authorized by Congress, and no bank note circulation, not secured by the Government. That the Government and the people will derive general benefit from this change in the banking systems of the country can hardly be questioned.

The national system will create a reliable and permanent influence in support of the national credit and protect the people against losses in the use of paper money. Whether or not any further legislation is advisable for the suppression of State Bank issues, it will be for Congress to determine. It seems quite clear that the Treasury cannot be satisfactorily conducted unless the Government can exercise a restraining power over the bank-note circulation of the country.

The report of the Secretary of War and the accompanying documents will detail the campaigns of the armies in the field since the date of the last annual message, and also the operations of the several administrative bureaux of the War Department during the last year.

It will also specify the measures deemed essential for the national defense, and to keep up and supply the requisite military force. The Report of the Secretary of the Navy presents a comprehensive and satisfactory exhibit of the affairs of that Department, and of the naval service. It is a subject of congratulation and laudable pride to our countrymen, that a Navy of such vast proportions has been organized in so brief a period, and conducted with so much efficiency and success.

The general exhibit of the Navy, including vessels under construction on the 1st of Dec., 1861, shows a total of 671 vessels, carrying 1,610 guns and 510,396 tons, being an actual increase during the year over and above all losses by shipwreck or in battle of 83 vessels, 167 guns, and 42,427 tons. The total number of men at this time in the Naval service, including officers, is about 51,000. There have been captured by the Navy during the year 324 vessels, and the whole number of Naval captures since hostilities commenced is 1,379, of which 267 are steamers. The gross proceeds arising from the sale of condemned prize property thus far reported, amount to \$14,396,250 51.

A large amount of such proceeds is still under adjudication, and yet to be reported. The total expenditure of the Navy Department of every description, including the cost of the immense squadrons that have been called into existence from the 4th of March, 1861, to the 1st of November, 1864, are \$238,647,263 35. Your favorable consideration is invited to the various recommendations of the Secretary of the Navy especially in regard to a Navy-Yard and suitable establishment for the construction and repair of iron vessels and the machinery and armature for our ships, to which reference was made in my last annual message.

Your attention is also invited to the views expressed in the report in relation to the Legislation

of Congress at its last session in respect to prizes on our inland waters.

I cordially concur in the recommendation of the Secretary as to the propriety of creating the new rank of Vice-Admiral in our Naval service. Your attention is invited to the report of the Postmaster-General for a detailed account of the operations and financial condition of the Post-Office Department.

The postal revenues for the year ending June 30, 1864, amounted to \$12,438,253 78, and the expenditures to \$12,644,786 20; the excess of expenditures over receipts being \$206,652 42.

The views presented by the Postmaster-General on the subject of special grants by the Government in aid of the establishment of new lines of ocean mail steamships, and the policy he recommends for the development of increased commercial intercourse with adjacent and neighboring countries, should receive the careful consideration of Congress.

It is of noteworthy interest that the steady expansion of population, improvement and governmental institutions over the new and unoccupied portions of our country have scarcely been checked, much less impeded or destroyed by our great civil war, which, at first glance, would seem to have absorbed almost the entire energies of the nation.

The organization and admission of the State of Nevada has been completed, in conformity with law, and thus our excellent system is firmly established in the mountains which once seemed a barren and uninhabitable waste between the Atlantic States and those which have grown up on the coast of the Pacific ocean.

The Territories of the Union are generally in a condition of prosperity and growth. Idaho and Montana, by reason of their great distance and the interruption of communication with them by Indian hostilities, have been only partially organized; but it is understood that these difficulties are about to disappear, which will permit their governments, like those of the others, to go into speedy and full operation. As intimately connected with, and promotive of this material growth of the nation, I ask the attention of Congress to the valuable information and important recommendations relating to the public lands, Indian affairs, the Pacific Railroads, and mineral discoveries contained in the report of the Secretary of the Interior, which is herewith transmitted, and which report also embraces the subjects of the patents, pensions, and other topics of public interest pertaining to this Department. The quantity of public land disposed of during the five quarters ending on the 30th of September last was 4,221,342 acres, of which 1,538,614 acres were entered under the Homestead law. The remainder was located with military land warrants, agricultural scrip certified to States for railroads, and sold for cash. The cash received from sales and location fees was \$1,019,446. The income from sales during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1864, was \$678,007 21, against \$136,077 95 received during the preceding year. The aggregate number of acres surveyed during the year has been equal to the quantity disposed of, and there is open to settlement about 133,000,000 acres of surveyed land.

The great enterprise of connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific States by railways and telegraph lines has been entered upon with a vigor that gives assurance of success, notwithstanding the embarrassments arising from the prevailing high prices of materials and labor. The route of the main line of the road has been definitely located for one hundred miles westward from the initial point at Omaha City, Nebraska, and a preliminary location of the Pacific Railroad of California has been made from Sacramento eastward to the great bend of Mucker River in Nevada. Numerous discoveries of gold, silver, and cinnabar mines have been added to the many heretofore known, and the country occupied by the Sierra Nevada and Rocky Mountains, and the subordinate ranges now teem with enterprising labor which is richly remunerative.

It is believed that the products of the mines of precious metals in that region have during the year reached if not exceeded \$100,000,000 in value. It was recommended in my last Annual Message that our Indian system be remodeled. Congress at its last Session acting upon the recommendation, did provide for reorganizing the system in California, and it is believed that under the present organization the management of the Indians there will be attended with reasonable success. Much yet remains to be done to provide for the proper government of the Indians in other parts of the country to render it secure for the advancing settler and to provide for the welfare of the Indian. The Secretary reiterates his recommendations and to them the attention of Congress is invited.

The liberal provisions made by Congress for paying pensions to invalid soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and to the widows, orphans and dependent mothers of those who have fallen in battle or died of disease contracted or of wounds received in the service of their country, have been diligently administered.

There have been added to the pension rolls during the year ending the 30th day of June last, the names of 16,770 invalid soldiers, and of 271 disabled seamen, making the present number of army invalid pensioners 22,767, and of navy invalid pensioners 712. Of widows, orphans and mothers, 22,198 have been placed on the Armpension rolls, and 248 on the Navy rolls.

The present number of Army pensioners of this class is 25,433, and of Navy pensioners 793. At the beginning of the year the number of revolutionary pensioners was 1,430. Only twelve of them were soldiers, of whom seven have since died. The remainder are those who, under the law receive pensions because of relationship to revolutionary soldiers.

During the year ending the 30th of June, 1864, \$4,504,616 92 have been paid to pensioners of all classes.

I cheerfully commend to your continued patronage the benevolent institutions of the District of Columbia, which have hitherto been established or fostered by Congress, and respectfully refer for information concerning them, and in relation to the Washington Aqueduct, the Capitol and other matters of local interest to the Report of the Secretary.

The Agricultural Department, under the supervision of its present energetic and faithful head, is rapidly commanding itself to the great and vital interest it was created to advance. It is peculiarly the People's Department, in which they feel more directly concerned than in any other. I command it to the continued attention and fostering care of Congress.

The war continues. Since the last annual message, all the important lines and positions then occupied by our forces have been maintained, and our armies have steadily advanced, thus liberating the regions left in the rear, so that Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and parts of other States, have again produced reasonably fair crops.

The most remarkable feature in the military operations of the year, is General Sherman's attempted march of 300 miles directly through insurgent regions. It tends to show a great increase of our relative strength, that our General-in-Chief should feel able to confront and hold in check every active force of the enemy, and yet to detach a well-appointed, large army to move on such an expedition.

The result not yet being known, conjecture in regard to it is not here indulged. Important movements have also occurred during the year to the effect of molding society for durability in the Union—although short of complete success it is much in the right direction, that 12,000 citizens in each of the States of Arkansas and Louisiana have organized loyal State governments with free constitutions, and are earnestly struggling to maintain and administer them.

The movement in the same direction, more extensive though less definite, in Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee should not be overlooked.

But Maryland presents the example of complete success. Maryland is secure to Liberty and Union for all the future. The genius of Rebellion will no more claim Maryland. Like another foul spirit, being driven out, it may seek to tear her, but it will rule her no more.

At the last Session of Congress a proposed amendment of the Constitution abolishing Slavery throughout the United States passed the Senate,

but failed for lack of the requisite two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives. Although the present is the same Congress, and nearly the same members, and, without questioning the wisdom or patriotism of those who stood in opposition, I venture to recommend the consideration and passage of the measure at the present session.

Of course the abstract question is not changed, but an intervening election shows almost certainly that the next Congress will pass the measure if this does not. Hence there is only a question of time as to when the proposed amendment will go to the States for their action, and as it is to go at all events, may we not agree that the sooner the better. It is not claimed that the election has imposed a duty on members to change their views or their votes any further than as an additional element to be considered. Their judgment may be affected by it.

It is the voice of the People now for the first time heard upon the question. In a great National crisis like ours, unanimity of action among those seeking a common end is very desirable, almost indispensa-

ble, and yet no approach to such unanimity is attainable unless some deference shall be paid to the will of the majority, simply because it is the will of the majority.

In this case the common end is the maintenance of the Union, and among the means to secure that end, such will, through the election, is most clearly declared in favor of such constitutional amendment. The most reliable indication of public purpose in this country is derived through our popular elections. Judging by the recent canvass and its result, the purpose of the people within the loyal States to maintain the integrity of the Union was never more firm nor more nearly unanimous than now.

The extraordinary calmness and good order with which the millions of voters met and mingled at the polls, give strong assurance of this. Not only those who supported the "Union ticket" (so-called), but a great majority of the opposing party also, may be fairly claimed to entertain and to be actuated by the same purpose. It is an unanswerable argument to this effect that no candidate for any office whatever, high or low, has ventured to seek votes on the avowal that he was for giving up the Union.

There has been much impugning of motives and heated controversy as to the proper means and best mode of advancing the Union cause, but in the distinct issue of Union or no Union the politicians have shown their instinctive knowledge that there is no diversity among the people. In affording the People a fair opportunity of showing one to another and to the world this firmness and unanimity of purpose, the election has been of vast value to the national cause.

The election has exhibited another fact not less valuable to be known—the fact that we do not approach exhaustion in the most important branch of the national resources, that of living men. While it is melancholy to reflect that the war has filled so many graves and carried mourning to so many hearts, it is some relief to know that, compared with the surviving, the fallen have been so few. While corps, and divisions, and brigades, and regiments have formed, and fought, and dwindled, and gone out of existence, a great majority of the men who composed them are still living. The same is true of the naval service. The election returns prove this. So many voters could not else be found. The States regularly holding elections, both now and four years ago, to wit: California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New-Hampshire, New-Jersey, New-York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia and Wisconsin, cast 3,982,011 votes now against 3,870,222 cast then, showing an aggregate now of 33,982,11, to which is to be added 33,762 cast now in the new States of Kansas and Nevada, which States did not vote in 1860; thus swelling the aggregate to 4,075,773, and the net increase during the three years and a half of war to 145,751. A table is appended showing particulars.

To this, again, should be added the number of all soldiers in the field from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New-Jersey, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois, and California who, by the laws of those States, could not vote away from their homes, and which number cannot be less than 90,000. Nor yet is this all. The number in organized territories is triple now what it was four years ago, while thousands—white and black—join us as the national arms press back the insurgent lines. So much is shown affirmatively and negatively by the election.

It is not material to inquire how the increase has been produced, or to show that it would have been greater but for the war, which is probably true; the important fact remains demonstrated that we have more men now than we had when the war began; that we are not exhausted nor in process of exhaustion; that we are gaining strength, and may, if need be, maintain the contest indefinitely. This as to men.

Natural resources are now more complete and abundant than ever. The national resources, then, are unexhausted, and, as we believe, inexhaustible.

The public purpose to re-establish and maintain the national authority is unchanged, and, as we believe, unchangeable. The manner of continuing the effort remains to choose. On careful consideration of all the evidence accessible, it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good.

He would accept of nothing short of the severance of the Union. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft-repeated. He does not attempt to deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves. We cannot voluntarily yield it. Between him and us the issue is distinct, simple and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war, and decided by victory.

If we yield, we are beaten; if the Southern people fail him, he is beaten—either way it would be the victory and defeat following war. What is true, however, of him who holds the insurgent cause, is not necessarily true of those who follow. Although he cannot reaccept the Union, they can. Some of them, we know, already desire peace and reunion. The number of such may increase.

They can at any moment have peace simply by laying down their arms and submitting to the National authority under the Constitution. After so much the Government could not, if it would, maintain war against them. The loyal people would not sustain or allow it. If questions should remain we would adjust them by the peaceful means of legislation, conference, courts and votes.

Operating only in constitutional and lawful channels, some certain and other possible questions are and would be beyond the Executive power to adjust, for instance, the admission of members into Congress, and whatever might require the appropriation of money.

The Executive power itself would be really diminished by the cessation of actual war. Pardons and remissions of forfeiture, however, would still be within Executive control. In what spirit and temper this control would be exercised can be fairly judged of by the past. A year ago general pardon and amnesty upon specified terms were offered to all except certain designated classes, and it was at the same time made known that the excepted classes were still within contemplation of special clemency.

During the year many availed themselves of the general provision and many more would, only that the signs of bad faith in some led to such precautionary measures as rendered the practical process less easy and certain. During the same time, also, special pardons have been granted to individuals of excepted classes, and no voluntary application has been denied.

Thus practically the door has been for a full year open to all, except such as were not in condition to make free choice; that is, such as were in custody or under constraint. It is still so open to all, but the time may come, probably will come, when public duty shall demand that it be closed, and that in lieu more vigorous measures than heretofore shall be adopted.

In presenting the abandonment of armed resistance to the National authority on the part of the insurgents as the only indispensable condition to ending the war on the part of the Government, I retract nothing heretofore said as to Slavery. I repeat the declaration made a year ago, and that while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation. Nor shall I return to Slavery any person who is free by the terms of that Proclamation or by the Acts of Congress.

If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it.

In stating a single condition of peace, I mean simply to say, that the war will cease on the part of the Government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Kentucky	146,216	91,300*
Maine	97,918	115,141
Maryland	92,502	72,703
Massachusetts	169,533	175,487
Michigan	154,747	162,413
Minnesota	34,799	42,534
Missouri	165,538	90,000*
New-Hampshire	63,953	69,111
New-Jersey	121,125	128,680
New-York	675,156	730,664
Ohio	442,441	470,745
Oregon	14,410	14,410†
Pennsylvania	476,442	572,697
Rhode Island	19,931	22,187
Vermont	42,844	55,811
West Virginia	46,195	33,874
Wisconsin	152,180	148,513
Total	3,870,223	3,982,011
Kansas	17,234	
Nevada	16,528	33,762
Total		4,015,773

* Nearly. † Estimated.

[The transmission of the President's message was commenced over the American Telegraph Company's wires at 1:27 and was finished at 2:25 p.m.]

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THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The Message of the President, which was yesterday delivered to both Houses of Congress, is, as all Mr. Lincoln's state papers are, a straight-forward and business-like document. It gives to Congress and the country a condensed but methodical statement of our National affairs in all their foreign and domestic relations, and in a style so plain and brief that it is certain to be universally read and universally understood.

In our foreign relations there is nothing to cause the slightest apprehension for the future, nor is any change intimated, except in relation to the Treaty with Great Britain as to the increase of our naval armament upon the Lakes. But the necessity for the stipulated notice for the termination of the Treaty arises, not from any hostility in the attitude of Great Britain, but to guard our own border more effectually from hostile incursions, in that direction, from Southern Rebels.

But the Message is mainly and necessarily taken up with a comprehensive review of our domestic affairs, and, considering that we are carrying on a war inevitably expensive in human life, in national prosperity, and in national wealth, the statement is eminently satisfactory. The condition of our national finances can hardly be given in fewer words than those of the President. He says:

The receipts during the year from all sources, upon the basis of warrants signed by the Secretary of the Treasury, including loans and the balance in the Treasury on the first day of July, 1863, were \$1,334,736,067.62, and the aggregate disbursements upon the same basis were \$1,295,036,101.89, leaving a balance in the Treasury, as shown by warrants, of \$39,739,905.73. Deduct from these amounts the amount of the principal of the public debt redeemed, and the amount of issues in substitution therefor, and the actual cash operations of the Treasury were: Receipts, \$84,076,610.77; disbursements, \$65,234,067.86, which leaves a cash balance in the Treasury of \$18,342,553.51. Of the receipt there were derived from customs, \$102,316,152.99; from lands, \$228,333.29; from direct taxes, \$47,618.96; from internal revenue, \$109,741,434.10; from miscellaneous sources, \$17,511,418.10; and from loans applied to actual expenditures, including former balance, \$623,413,929.13. There were disbursed for the civil service, \$27,505; for pensions and Indians, \$7,517,930.97; for the War Department, \$60,791,842.79; for the Navy Department, \$85,733,292.27; for interest of the public debt, \$53,655,421.69; making an aggregate of \$705,231,067.86, and leaving a balance in the Treasury of \$18,612,553.72, as before stated.

The public debt on the 1st of July last amounted to one billion seven hundred and forty thousand millions, six hundred and ninety thousand four hundred and eighty-nine dollars and forty-nine cents. Should the war continuo another year it will be increased not more than five hundred millions. To meet future expenditures the President concurs with the Secretary of the Treasury in recommending an increase of taxation. He also recommends to Congress that a limited amount of some future issue of public securities may be held by the purchaser, free from taxation and seizure for debt, in order that persons of limited means may be induced to invest in such securities.

The announcement of the future policy of the President in regard to the war and to Slavery, has been looked for with anxiety and will be read with eager interest. In reviewing the result of the late election, he considers it as simply "an additional element to be considered," inasmuch as it is "the voice of the people now for the first time heard upon the question" of the war. To "maintain the integrity of the Union" he accepts as the firm and "nearly unanimous purpose" of the people—the purpose not only of all who voted the Union ticket, but of the great majority of those who did not, inasmuch as no candidate "ventured to seek votes on the avowal that he was for giving

up the Union." Therefore, in obedience to the will of the people, as well as his own convictions, the President will never give up the Union. Until it is restored in all its integrity he will continue the war. With the leader of the insurgents he can enter into no negotiations for peace, because that leader will listen to no terms but the independence of the Southern Confederacy. But with his followers the President is ready to enter upon the question of peace, on the condition that they lay down their arms and submit to the National authority under the Constitution. Some of them, he knows, already desire peace and reunion, and their number may increase. This is the only hope of peace held out in the Message, except by victory in war, and the President accepts the election as his justification by the people of this determination.

He recommends the present Congress to abolish Slavery by Constitutional amendment. If it fails to do so, as it has once already, he asserts it to be only an act postponed, as it is certain to be done by the Congress elect. For himself he retracts nothing he has ever said or done in regard to Slavery. He will not retract

or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor will he ever return to bondage a human being freed by that Proclamation or by acts of Congress. He says emphatically that if the people make such an act an executive duty they must find somebody else to perform it.

Such are the important points of the Message, and not even the most violent opponent of Mr. Lincoln can complain that his policy has an uncertainty about it, or that it is not as thoroughly radical as his warmest admirer would have it. Peace by the submission or conquest of Rebels, and the total abolition of Slavery, will be the determined purpose of the new Administration. The country has sanctioned and will accept the policy.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Special Dispatch to The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Dec. 6, 1864.

HOW CONGRESS RECEIVED THE MESSAGE.

The quiet attention given to the reading of the President's Message in the House was broken with applause over the passage "Maryland is secure to Liberty and Union for all the future." A laugh received the sly bit that on the distinct issue of Union or no Union the politicians have shown the instinctive knowledge that there is no diversity of purpose among the people. The applause was hearty and loud over the manly passage "If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make Executive duty to reenslave such persons, another and not I must be their instrument to perform it." But the concluding words of the Message, "the war will cease on the part of the Government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it," was received by the Union members with a demonstration of true satisfaction that was full of significance. Two Democrats sat sullen in their seats, leaving the printed copies of the Message, which had been distributed when the reading commenced, unopened on their desks.

11

THE NEW-YORK PRESS ON THE MESSAGE.

The President's Message elicits the usual variety of comments from the journals of this city. It is pleasant, though not surprising, to find that Mr. Lincoln's opinions are distasteful to the two journals which serve most devotedly the cause of the Rebellion. *The News*, which is the acknowledged mouth-piece of Mr. Jefferson Davis in this city, says:

"Its language is more dignified and less wandering and obscure than that of last year's Message, and its tone is more subdued and less suggestive of an effort to create melodramatic effects. Nevertheless, it is vague and superficial. It deals carelessly with those points that are of paramount interest to the public, and evinces no statesmanlike analysis of the political situation. It sheds no ray of hope upon the future. Pensive it is with a vain expectation of finding some clue that may lead out of the dismal labyrinths of intersecting dis-sension, the patriot will put it aside with a sigh, painfully conscious that it neither solves nor was intended to solve the terrible enigma. It is emphatic and plain-spoken only when it affirms that the war shall be prosecuted to the bitter end."

The World, which sometimes conceals its partisanship with the Rebellion under an affectation of regard for the old Union, remarks with its usual bland courtesy:

"A more tame, jejune, commonplace state paper never emanated from a man clothed with high responsibilities. It is, in the main, a tepid recital of certain points and statistics from the reports of the heads of the executive departments, in a style not better than is attained by every abridger of documents in a newspaper. It does not reach even the subordinate merits of method and proportion. * * *

"Faults of arrangement, however, are trivial, when compared with poverty of matter. The brevity of the message would, under any circumstances, be a merit, but in this case the merit would have been more conspicuous, had it been still shorter. Succinctness resulting from closeness and condensation is a very different thing from the penury of a barren intellect. The intellectual poverty of the message is in no degree atoned for by patriotic fervor or elevation of sentiment. It is amazing that a man called to be the chief actor in the most momentous civil struggle the world ever saw is lifted to no inspiration. If Mr. Lincoln understood his epoch, one would naturally expect that its grandeur would impress his imagination. But the message is as cold as it is feeble."

"Such a document affords no scope for particular comment. It is beneath it. It is idle to compute what nobody will remember; and as for commendation, even the Republican organs will be at a loss to bestow it. * * * In a curious financial recommendation he deviates for once into originality; but it is an originality which is painfully suggestive of a low tone of moral feeling. We must indeed concede to Mr. Lincoln the possession of a perfectly balanced character; his conscience is worthy of his intellect, and his sense of decorum worthy of both. He gravely recommends that our Government shall raise money from our citizens by corrupting their sense of pecuniary honor! He wants Congress to pass an act to protect the purchasers of Government bonds from paying their honest debts! He gravely recommends that this species of property shall be placed beyond the reach not only of taxation but of creditors. It is a spectacle as astounding as it is melancholy to see the Chief Magistrate of a great nation asking Congress to enable citizens to cheat their creditors out of their honest dues."

The Sun says:

"Although our Chief-Magistrate confines himself to the merest statement of the condition of public affairs, he still reveals sufficient to show that the future policy of his administration will be in accordance with its previous history, except so far as our foreign relations are concerned. On this subject the President indicates a more hostile attitude against those foreign nations from whom the Confederates have received aid and comfort during the present war. The people will no doubt sustain this position, and European nations may be warned in time against any interference with matters that concern us more nearly than themselves."

The Journal of Commerce, which has "retired from politics," ventures as much of an opinion as this:

"On those points relating to the policy which he will pursue, it indicates an unchanged purpose—the most suggestive passage in the document being perhaps that in which he intimates that the existing offers of pardon to Rebels may become no longer practicable, and that the time 'probably will come' when the door of pardon must be closed, and 'that in such more vigorous measures than heretofore' must be adopted."

"There is very great plainness of speech in the Message, which makes no pretense to ornate language, and deals only in the most easily understood phrases."

The Herald, as its manner is, carries water on both shoulders, and spills from both:

"As usual with all his state papers, it is a plain, unpretending document; and in this respect, and in the matter of brevity, Lincoln is an immense improvement upon Buchanan and poor Pierce, with their heavy and dismal electioneering pamphlets. It is an encouraging report on the state of the nation, and embodies various timely and practical recommendations to the two houses, although in some things of great moment it falls short of the mark. * * *

"Thus the Slaveholders of Rebeldom are placed between two consuming fires. If they still adhere to Jeff. Davis they must give up Slavery in giving up their negroes, and a farm to boot of fifty acres to each negro soldier; and if they abandon Davis they must subscribe to Old Abe's Emancipation Proclamations. This, we think, is one of the weak points of the message, and the other most prominent is Gideon Welles. And so we turn it over to the digestion of the two Houses of Congress and our readers."

The Times, which differs from *The Herald* in seeking always to carry water on neither shoulder, strains the clear stream of the President's good sense and good faith through Seward's eddies, in this fashion:

"The most salient feature in the Message is the emphatic declaration of the President that he recognizes but one single condition for peace—and that, the return of Rebels to their allegiance. He says: 'They can at any time have peace simply by laying down their arms, and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution.' The President neither insists upon nor looks for any stipulation in advance in respect

to the abandonment of Slavery. His only claim is for an abandonment of armed resistance. This makes good precisely what we have contended was the true construction of the famous missive, 'To whom it may concern.' It puts beyond further dispute the President's absolute singleness of purpose, and his determination to maintain the war solely on a constitutional basis for constitutional ends. It is true that he takes occasion here to repeat that he will not attempt either to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation. Yet in this he is perfectly consistent. That proclamation was a war measure, authorized by the war power involved in the duty prescribed to the Executive by the Constitution to enforce the laws. Its operative force must continue while the war lasts. When the war ceases, itself must cease as a war measure. It can have no further continuing effect, though the effect already consummated, whatever the course may decide that to be, cannot be undone, and must remain unchanged. The President holds to the Proclamation in just the right manner. He treats it as an instrument for war, but in no way interposes it against peace. The Rebels can get peace at any time without touching it. All that is required of them is that they shall in good faith bow to the Constitution."

Turning to the evening papers we find in *The Post*:

"As often as the public have had reason to exclaim 'God bless Abraham Lincoln,' they will utter the benediction with a new zest on reading his late message. It is the best, in our opinion, that he has yet written; calm and dignified in tone, clear in statement, and bold and magnanimous in spirit; and in its exhibition of the state of the country amply satisfactory. No American will arise from the perusal of this simple and straightforward document but with feelings of increased confidence in the stability of our institutions, and of re-awakened hope of their future destinies."

"Mr. Lincoln's conditions of peace are stated with equal brevity and terseness. 'The war will cease on the part of the Government,' he says, 'whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it.' That is the whole matter in a nutshell; that is just, dignified, self-respecting and necessary; no needless vengeance is threatened, no proscriptive or vindictive legislation is asked for; but to all who submit to the laws their benign protection is again vouchsafed. Mr. Lincoln does not mean, of course, that the leaders of this most flagitious and sanguinary Rebellion shall get off unscathed; he would be among the first, probably, to suggest the execution of such monsters of iniquity; but for the poor misguided people, who have been made the victims of their hellish ambition, he cherishes feelings of the profoundest commiseration."

The Commercial Advertiser, which prides itself on a certain ability in the funeral line, says:

"The President thinks that the country has grown richer in men and means during the war. Population has probably advanced in spite of the carnage of battle-fields and the wasting of disease, but that our material resources have increased is a delusion worthy only of a place in a pre-election speech. * * *

The message is unsatisfactory, in that it discloses nothing that we did not know before. It opens up no hope for the future except of continued war, and, of course, a corresponding increase (!) in men and means. It promises no renewed vigor in the prosecution of the war, but rather seems to accept the wearing out policy, in the hope that in due course of time the Rebellion will collapse and shrivel and expire."

On the whole, the Message seems to be about what everybody expected; satisfies the Unionists, and dissatisfies the other kind. Which we presume satisfies Mr. Lincoln.

THE UNION PARTY IN THIS CITY.

We are glad to announce that an arrangement has been agreed upon between Rufus F. Andrews, representing the Draper organization, and William R. Stewart, on behalf of the Darling organization, to unite all the Union organizations in this city, so that hereafter an undivided front will be presented to the common enemy. It will be recollected that the State Central Committee, in October last, appointed

Messrs. Andrews and Stewart to negotiate local differences, and these gentlemen have thus successfully discharged the important trust confided to them.

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGES.

Voting for President and Vice-President.
NEW-YORK.

From *The Athos and Argus*, 7th.

The Electors of President and Vice-President met in the Senate Chamber at the Capitol on Tuesday afternoon at 4 o'clock.

HON. CHANCEY M. DEPEW, Secretary of State, called the College to order, and proceeded to call the roll of Electors.

Obadiah Bowne and Charles L. Beale were absent.

MR. GREELEY proposed that the members of the College be sworn in.

MR. KING suggested that the business of the College be delayed until the arrival of the absent members, who were momentarily expected.

MR. O'DYKE thought it would expedite business to proceed with taking the Constitutional oath, and moved that the Secretary of State proceed to administer it.

MR. KING still urged delay.

MR. GREELEY could see no object in waiting. He understood that it was obligatory upon every person elected to a State office (though he never held one before), and urged that the Secretary proceed.

The Secretary announced that he would proceed to administer the oath, unless objected to.

MR. KING—I object.

During further discussion the absent members arrived.

The Secretary again called the roll, when all the Electors answered to their names, and the Secretary announced that the Electoral College was full.

The constitutional oath of office was then administered to each Elector by the Secretary of State. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the Secretary announced that in accordance with the statute the next business in order was the election of a President.

PRESTON KING then moved that Horace Greeley of New York, be President of the College. Carried unanimously.

The Secretary appointed Mr. King of St. Lawrence, and Mr. Stranahan of Kings, a Committee to conduct the President to the Chair.

On taking the Chair, Mr. GREELEY said this not being a deliberative body, it would not be expected that he would make any remarks, beyond returning thanks for the honor conferred upon him.

William Bristol was then chosen Secretary.

Hiram Horton was chosen an additional Secretary.

Nathaniel Goodwin was appointed Sergeant-at-Arms.

MR. STEELLY moved "that the President invite some iron and loyal clergyman" of the city of Albany, to open the proceedings of the College on the 7th, by prayer. Carried.

The College adjourned to meet at ten o'clock on Wednesday morning.

ALBANY, N. Y., Wednesday, Dec. 7, 1864.

The electors re-assembled at the Capitol today and cast the thirty-three Electoral votes of the State for Lincoln and Johnson.

James Terwilliger, of Syracuse, was appointed messenger to Washington, and L. W. Bradley to the judgeship of the Northern District of New-York.

A committee of three was appointed to deposit a copy of the official record, directed to the Vice-President, in the Post-Office. Then, after brief remarks by the Hon. Horace Greeley, congratulating the College and the country on the tone of President Lincoln's Message, the College adjourned sine die.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON, Mass., Wednesday, Dec. 7, 1864.

The Electoral College of this State re-assembled to-day and cast the twelve votes of Massachusetts for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President, and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President of the United States.

The Electoral College, after casting the vote of Massachusetts for Lincoln and Johnson, adopted a vote of thanks to Hon. Edward Everett, its President. Eloquent speeches followed from ex-Gov. Levi Lincoln and Mr. Everett. Solomon B. Stoddard was chosen messenger to Washington. The College then adjourned sine die.

CONNECTICUT.

HARFORD, Conn., Wednesday, Dec. 7, 1864.

The Connecticut Electors met to-day. On

Dec. 7, 1864, the election of President and Vice-President of the United States was held in the State of Connecticut.

day to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of John P. Elton. The six votes were cast for Lincoln and Johnson. Edward P. Cheney of Litchfield was chosen messenger to carry the vote to Washington.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

CONCORD, N. H., Wednesday, Dec. 7, 1864.

The Electoral College met here to-day, and cast the five votes of New-Hampshire for Lincoln and Johnson.

PENNSYLVANIA.

HARRISBURG, Pa., Wednesday, Dec. 7, 1864.

The Electoral College of this State convened in the Senate Chamber to-day, and was called to order by Mr. McMichael.

The Secretary of the Commonwealth was introduced with the returns of the election, and he reported as elected the Union electors, all of whom reported except John Wistar.

Mr. McKim offered a preamble and resolution reciting the fact that Mr. Wistar was in Europe, and nominating John B. Clark in his stead.

John B. Clark was unanimously elected in place of Mr. Wistar, and commissioned by the Governor.

The college then proceeded to vote for President and Vice-President of the United States, by ballot, which resulted in a unanimous vote for Lincoln and Johnson.

VERMONT.

MONTPELIER, Vt., Dec. 7, 1864.

The Electoral College of Vermont met in this place to day and cast their votes for Lincoln and Johnson. The Hon. A. L. Catlin was elected messenger to convey the vote of the College to Washington.

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12/8/64

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
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REFERENCE DEPARTMENT



WASHINGTON

March 11, 1941

Dear Mr. Barker:

I am writing in connection with the manuscript
of Mr. Lincoln's last annual message to Congress,
December 6, 1864.

After his death a holograph copy was cut up
into paragraphs and distributed piecemeal to autograph
seekers.

If you have one of these fragments in your
collection, I will be very grateful for any information
you can send me.

Faithfully yours,

David C. Mearns

Superintendent of the Reading Rooms
Reference Department

Mr. H. E. Barker
1922 South Hobart Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

9. original letter filed in Louis Warren Correspondence
Lumberville, Ohio.

Sept 15, 1941

To

Mr. Louis Warren, Director,
Lincoln National Life Foundation,
Fort Wayne,
Indiana.

Dear Mr. Warren:

Enclosed is the list of the three books, in my possession,
bearing upon the life of Mr. Lincoln. My grandfather's
name, John D. Brooks, is printed upon the outside
cover of the Address by George Bancroft.

I have been in communication with the Library of Congress,
Washington, D.C. regarding these books and no
record of sales exists there, regarding the "Memorial
Address" and "Assassination of Mr. Lincoln"; the only
recorded sale of James' life of Lincoln was from John
Loy's Library.

My grandfather, at one time, owned the Indianapolis
Journal and at the time of Mr. Lincoln's nomination
was a strong supporter of his. The Government Printing
Bldg. was formerly owned by two men and all govern-
ment publications were printed by contract. When Mr.
Lincoln became President, this building was bought by
the Government and Mr. Lincoln requested Congress to
appoint John D. Brooks as "Public Printer", which office

He was appointed to three different times and held to his death in 1883. Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Hayes became staunch friends, and their children were playmates.

My father, Morris Morris, born in 1847, knew Mrs. Lincoln, and often spoke of his character. Father and his only sister, Mrs. James L. Sample, were at the theatre the night Mrs. Lincoln was assassinated, so I am getting the inscription of that manuscript right direct from two eye-witnesses.

I am planning to go to Boston this week, and shall have a photocopy made of the entire section of Mrs. Lincoln's last manuscript, now in the Library of Congress. Do keep it in a double glass frame; one side the address and the other with grandfather's statement of what it is. A letter from Mr. Martin of the Library of Congress to me stated for some reason, grandfather divided this manuscript and gave sections away. Our section in possession of a Miss Penny of New York was auctioned. I am under the impression this is in the library. The third and last section has not been traced. Have a cousin in Detroit, son of Mrs. Sample, who has manuscripts from men of that generation and fame and someday I shall go there to see if any trace may be found. The Library of Congress hoped his son of grandfather's letters some trace might be made. I am very interested in anything historical and research work, though I have never done any professionally and

shall be so glad to do all I can to get information. I am
a fossil, by birth, and living here only temporarily.

Perhaps you will be interested in this incident. After
Grandfather's death in 1883, Grandmother sent my
father his Indianapolis, this Britannica Encyclopedia.
One day while using it for school work, I found in one
of the volumes yellow leather sheets filled with hand-
writing on one side and notations on the other. Had
difficulty reading the writing, and asking Father what
it was, he replied it was the "Proclamation of Emanci-
pation" in the rough, in Mrs. Lincoln's handwriting, and
the notations were in Grandfather's. About that time,
(about 1895) some one wrote Father from Sparta, Tennessee,
asking for a sample of Grandfather's handwriting to be
placed in a museum in Sparta. Grandfather was born
in Sparta. Having nothing of personal value, Father
had these sheets placed in a double glass frame and sent
it. I have often wished he had it done this and last
winter wrote the Postmaster in Sparta, asking him to
make inquiries if such a document were there. He
replied he asked several of the old residents and no
one remembered anything about it. The person who
asked Father may have sold it or it is destroyed, but I
have often wondered if it still exists. The Library of
Congress apparently knows nothing about it.
Grandfather spent the evening with Mrs. Lincoln discussing

this Proclamation before it was published. Both men were tall and slender, wore "store-bought" hats and brown "dusters". Mr. Lincoln gave grandfather the painting or had him. I shall give you the name of the artist when I send the photograph. (A man from the Toledo Art Museum told my sister-in-law that it was not an oil portrait but something which he cannot recall. The work is done on canvas but the brush marks are not seen. I shall examine it again and if you wish can take it to the Toledo Art Museum to learn just what the work is. Would you care to have it photographed.

When the above information will add to your interest and anything I may do, I shall be most interested in doing.

Very truly yours,
Elizabeth Morris DeGraw.

Important movements have also occurred during the year to the effect of moulding society for durability in the Union. Although short of complete success, it is much in the right direction that twelve thousand citizens in each of the states of Arkansas and Louisiana, have organized loyal state governments, with free constitutions, and are earnestly struggling to maintain and administer them. The movements in the same direction, more extensive, though less definite, in Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, should not be overlooked. But Maryland

This is a portion of
Mr. Lincoln's last annual
message, in his own hand
writing. Moses F. Daffes

This is to be given to Thomas Lewis
I. D. D.
Daffes.

This is to be given to Bradley
Daffes
Thos M. Daffes
His Grand Uncle

LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor
Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 870

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

December 10, 1945

LINCOLN'S LAST MESSAGE TO THE 38th CONGRESS

Very little attention has been paid to Lincoln's last message to Congress dated December 6, 1864 because it is largely statistical in contents and lacks the usual literary gems which adorn most of Lincoln's state papers. Nevertheless, the fact that the document was Lincoln's last formal report on the state of the union makes it of some importance. Its length prohibits little more than a brief outline of its contents with one or two paragraphs submitted as a conclusion and the brief salutation as follows:

"Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: Again the blessings of health and abundant harvests claim our profoundest gratitude to almighty God."

I FOREIGN AFFAIRS

"The condition of our foreign affairs is reasonably satisfactory."

1. Mexico—Theatre of Civil war
2. Costa Rica & Nicaragua—Transit Route
3. Colombia—Intimate Relations
4. Venezuela—New liberal institution
5. Peru & Spain—Civil war averted
6. Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Paraguay, San Salvador & Haiti—Most friendly relations
7. Liberia—African slave trade
8. Europe—Overland telegraph
9. Great Britain—Ocean telegraph
10. Egypt, Barbary Powers—Satisfactory relations
11. China—Rebellion suppressed
12. Japan—Friendship for U.S.
13. Foreign merchants—Contraband trade
14. Brazilian & British Ports—Political difficulty
15. Great Britain — Treaty adjustments
16. Canada—Reciprocity Treaty
17. European States—Immigrants

II FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

"The financial affairs of the government have been successfully administered during the last year."

1. Increased taxation proposed by Congress.

2. Receipts during war—\$1,394,796, 007.62
Disbursements, same basis—\$1,298,056,101.89
Balance in treasury—\$96,739,905.73
3. Source of receipts
4. Disbursements for civil service
5. The Public Debt—\$1,740,690,489.49
6. National banking system

III REPORTS

1. Secretary of War. A document accompanying message. (See conclusion of address)
2. Secretary of Navy.
 - a. 671 vessels carrying 461 guns
 - b. 51,000 men in naval service
 - c. Total expenditures from March 4, 1861 to Nov. 1, 1864—\$238,647,262.35
 - d. Construction of navy yard
 - e. New Rank of Vice Admiral
3. Postmaster General
 - a. Postal revenue for year \$12,438,258.78
 - b. Expenditures—\$12,644,786.20
 - c. Deficit—\$206,532.42
 - d. Ocean mail steamships

IV SECRETARY OF INTERIOR

1. Population scarcely been checked
2. Admission of Nevada consummated
3. Territories show rapid growth
4. Public Lands—4,221,342 acres located
5. Pacific Railroad progress
6. Minerals mined valued at \$100,000,000
7. Reorganization of Indian system
8. Pensions for soldiers and sailors
9. District of Columbia institutions

V AGRICULTURE

1. Peculiarly, the people's department

VI CONDUCT OF WAR

1. All important lines and positions steadily advanced
2. General Sherman's operations most remarkable feature

VII ORGANIZING LOYAL STATE GOVERNMENTS

1. Arkansas & Louisiana successful
2. Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee at work
3. Maryland, completely successful
"The genius of rebellion will no more claim Maryland. Like another foul

spirit, being driven out, it may seek to tear her, but it will woo her no more."

VIII SLAVERY

1. Proposed amendment to Constitution.
 - a. "I venture to recommend the reconsideration and passage of the measure at the present session."
 - b. "The common end is the maintenance of the union, and among the means to secure that end — constitutional amendment."

IX POPULAR ELECTIONS

1. Most reliable indication of public purpose.
2. "No candidate for any office whatever, high or low, has ventured to seek votes on the avowal that he was for giving up the union."
3. Election proved we do not approach exhaustion in man power.

X NEGOTIATION FOR PEACE WITH INSURGENTS

1. "It is an issue which can only be tried by war, and decided by victory.
2. "They can at any moment have peace by laying down their arms and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution.
3. "The executive power itself would be greatly diminished by the cessation of actual war.
4. "The door of pardon and amnesty has been for a full year open to all except such as were not in condition to make free choice."

5. "I repeat the declaration made a year ago that while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress.

"If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it.

"In stating a single condition of peace, I mean simply to say that the war will cease on the part of the government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it."

Abraham Lincoln

LINCOLN DEFENDS HIS USE OF
THE WORD "SUGAR-COATED"
IN A PUBLIC DOCUMENT

Mr. Defrees, the government printer, states that, when one of the President's messages was being printed, he was a good deal disturbed by the use of the term "sugar-coated," and finally went to Mr. Lincoln about it. Their relations to each other being of the most intimate character, he told the President frankly that he ought to remember that a message to Congress was a different affair from a speech at a mass meeting in Illinois; that the messages became a part of history, and should be written accordingly.

"What is the matter now?" inquired the President.

"Why," said Mr. Defrees, "you have used an undignified expression in the message;" and then, reading the paragraph aloud, he added, "I would alter the structure of that if I were you."

"Defrees," replied Mr. Lincoln, "that word expresses exactly my idea, and I am not going to change it. The time will come in this country, when people won't know exactly what 'sugar-coated' means."

On a subsequent occasion, Mr. Defrees states that a certain sentence of another message was very awkwardly constructed. Calling the President's attention to it in the proof copy, the latter acknowledged the force of the objection raised, and said, "Go home, Defrees, and see if you can better it."

The next day Mr. Defrees took him his amendment. Mr. Lincoln met him by saying:

"Seward found the same fault that you did, and he has been rewriting the paragraph also." Then, reading Mr. Defrees' version, he said, "I believe you have beaten Seward; but, 'I jings,' I think I can beat you both." Then, taking up his pen, he wrote the sentence as it was finally printed.

